

Message Text

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NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR RH SF

SUBJ: SMITH JANUARY 24 ADDRESS ON BRITISH RHODESIA PROPOSALS

1. RHODESIA REP HAWKINS HAS PROVIDED US WITH FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF MAIN CONSIDERATIONS WHICH MOVED SMITH TO REJECT BRITISH PROPOSALS. HAWKINS SAID HE PREPARED SUMMARY PRIMARILY FOR BENEFIT OF SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES TO WHOM HE DELIVERED IT TODAY, JANUARY 27. HE THOUGHT IT NECESSARY IN LIGHT OF LENGTH AND COMPLEXITY OF SMITH'S JANUARY 24 ADDRESS.

2. BEGIN TEXT. BRITISH PROPOSALS - REASONS FOR REJECTION
THE FOLLOWING APPEARED TO BE THE MAIN CONSIDERATIONS, APART PERHAPS FROM OTHERS MENTIONED IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON MANDAY EVENING, WHICH MADE THE BRITISH PROPOSALS UNACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION.

A. VIRTUALLY UNFETTERED LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE POWER WOULD REST WITH THE TWO-THIRDS BLACK MAJORITY IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THEY COULD AMEND OR REPEAL ANY EXISTING LAW, SAVE IN THE FEW FIELDS WHERE THE COMMISSIONER WOULD JOIN THE COUNCIL AND HAVE A CASTING VOTE. THIS IS QUITE OUT OF SECRET

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KEEPING WITH THE CONCEPT OF SHARED POWER AND CHECKS AND BALANCES DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WHICH WAS INHERENT IN THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS.

B. THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS GIVES HALF THE SEATS TO THE TERRORIST REPRESENTATIVES. (ALTHOUGH SITHOLE IS CURRENTLY OUT OF FAVOUR WITH THEM ANY DOUBTS ABOUT HIS

REAL AFFILIATION SHOULD BE DISPELLED BY RE-READING THE ACTING CHIEF JUSTICE'S JUDGMENT IN THE SPECIAL COURT IN 1975). THIS IS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR NOMINATION BY THE BLACK PRESIDENTS TO ATTEND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT ARE GIVEN ONLY ONE-SIXTH OF THE SEATS. DESPITE THE ELECTORAL HISTORY OF THE PAST 14 YEARS, THE COMMISSIONER WOULD NOMINATE AN EQUAL NUMBER OF WHITES. (THIS PROPOSAL IS REGARDED PRETTY MUCH AS A DELIBERATE INSULT.)

C. THE REAL POWER OF THE COMMISSIONER WOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE SECURITY FIELD. HIS ABILITY TO DISMISS AND REPLACE THE COMMANDERS AND SENIOR OFFICERS IS VERY SIGNIFICANT WHEN READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE STATED TASK OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO REORGANISE THE FORCES. IN QUESTIONING MR. RICHARD IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THIS WOULD INCLUDE THE INTEGRATION OF THE HARD-CORE TERRORISTS; HE IMPLIED THESE WERE EQUIVALENT TO THE PROFESSIONAL MEMBERS OF OUR FORCES. IT IS SAID THAT HE MENTIONED TO NON-GOVERNMENT PEOPLE THAT SENIOR OFFICERS FROM THE COMMONWEALTH MIGHT BE BROUGHT IN, FOR EXAMPLE AN INDIAN TO COMMAND THE AIR FORCE.

D. THE APPOINTMENT OF THE BRITISH COMMISSIONER INVOLVES NO OBLIGATION WHATEVER ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO INTERVENE PHYSICALLY IF INTERNAL SECURITY OR THE INTEGRITY OF THE INTERIM STATE WERE THREATENED. ON THE CONTRARY (PARAGRAPHS 4A AND 4B OF) THEIR PROPOSALS MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IF THERE WERE AN UPSURGE OF TERRTRISM SUPPORTED BY ONE OF THE PRESIDENTS, THEY WOULD WITHDRAW THE COMMISSIONER.

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E. TO SUM UP, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT (AND THE WHITE POPULATION) WOULD IMMEDIATELY SURRENDER ANY ABILITY TO INFLUENCE EFFECTIVELY THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THIS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE KISSINGER PROPOSALS AND THE NEW BRITISH PROPOSALS, WHICH (HOWEVER MR RICHARD TRIED TO DENY IT) WOULD MEAN BLACK RULE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERIM PERIOD INSTEAD OF AT THE END OF IT.

F. MR RICHARD TOLD US THAT MANY ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSALS WOULD BE NEGOTIABLE AND URGED US TO ACCEPT THEM AS A BASIS OF NEGOTIATION. HOWEVER, AN ANALYSIS SHOWS THAT THEY ARE BASED ALMOST ENTIRELY ON THE PROPOSALS AND STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES TABLED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN GENEVA (THE PATRIOTIC FRONT PAPER POSTULATED COMPLETE LEGISLATIVE FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, AND TOGETHER WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, ABSOLUTE CONTROL OF THE SECURITY FORCES.) IN THE LIGHT OF EVENTS SINCE 24TH

SEPTEMBER, AND DISSATISFACTION WITH MR RICHARD'S HANDLING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, WE ASSESSED THE CHANCES OF EFFECTING CHANGES IN OUR FAVOUR AS NIL. IF WE WERE TO GO BACK TO GENEVA ON THE BASIS OF THESE PROPOSALS WE WOULD EVENTUALLY BE LEFT WITH NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO REJECT THEM AND WE WOULD BE ACCUSED OF WRECKING THE CONFERENCE. WE THEREFORE URGED MR RICHARD TO REVERT TO THE ORIGINAL PROPOSALS ON WHICH GENEVA WAS BASED (AND WHICH WE FEEL THE BRITISH ORIGINATORS MADE NO EFFORT TO "SELL" TO THE AFRICANS). HAD WE NOT DONE SO, OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION WOULD HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY ERODED (DESPITE THE ASSURANCES VIA SOUTH AFRICA AND AMERICA - MOST RECENTLY FROM THE VARIOUS AMERICAN OFFICIALS AT GENEVA - THAT WE WOULD NOT BE PUSHED BEYOND ANNEX "C".)

G. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE WE ARE SATISFIED THAT THE FEARS EXPRESSED BY THE AFRICANS IN REGARD TO "REVERSIBILITY" SECRET

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AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE ORIGINAL PROPOSALS, CAN BE MET LEGISLATIVELY AND IN OTHER WAYS. WE FEEL THAT QUIET ANGLO/RHODESIAN DISCUSSIONS AT OFFICIAL LEVEL WOULD BE VERY WORTHWHILE. WE HAD HOPED TO HAVE SUCH DISCUSSIONS AT GENEVA AND WENT THERE FULLY EQUIPPED FOR THEM, BUT WE WERE GIVEN NO OPPORTUNITY BY THE BRITISH. LAST MONDAY THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD MR RICHARD THAT WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITH FLEXIBILITY WITHIN THE KISSINGER FRAME- WORK AND STRESSED WE WERE NOT BREAKING OFF NEGOTIATIONS.

H. THE OVER-RIDING CONSIDERATION OF COURSE, WAS THE EFFECT ON MORALE WHICH ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE HAD. IT WAS ASSESSED AS DISASTROUS BOTH IN THE SECURITY FORCES AND AMONG CIVILIANS. A GREAT MANY EUROPEANS NOW CONTEMPLATING REMAINING IN THE COUNTRY WOULD HAVE DECIDED TO DEPART FORTHWITH. THE PRESSURES TO EASE EXCHANGE CONTROL REGULATIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN OVERWHELMING AND COULD NOT HAVE BEEN RESISTED. THE DANGERS OF A COLLAPESE IN THE SECURITY FIELD AND OF THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURES WERE THEREFORE REGARDED AS SO REAL AS TO OUTWEIGH THE OBVIOUS DISADVANTAGES OF REJECTING THE NEW PROPOSALS AND RISKING BEING BLAMED, HOWEVER UNFAIRLY. END TEXT. BOWDLER

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